# MOTHER EARTH

Vol. XI. December, 1916 No. 10


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(Are they Opposed to Each Other?)

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*"THE EDUCATIONAL AND SEXUAL DWARFING OF THE CHILD"*

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# MOTHER EARTH

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Vol. XI DECEMBER, 1916 No. 10

## EXCEPTIONAL OFFER

WE HAVE just brought out a new edition of "God and the State," by Michael Bakunin, consisting of ninety-six pages with a beautiful portrait of the author. The work is one of the great classics in radical thought, brilliantly elucidating the relation between God and the State. A copy of this valuable work will go with every renewal or new subscription to MOTHER EARTH.

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## OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

IN certain quarters of the country the lynching of "refractory" workingmen seems to be looked upon as a valuable addition to negro lynching. The latter has made "us" quite a little famous,—and more of this kind of fame will undoubtedly be derived from applying those newly revised methods of lynching, recently used in Everett, Wash., in Minnesota, and California against workingmen. Indeed, these new accomplishments of American justice have already aroused the populace in some foreign countries.

From Italy and Switzerland reports arrive to the effect that in a large number of big cities mass meetings and parades have been held in order to express solidarity and sympathy with Carlo Tresca and his comrades, on whom the steel trust and its subsidiaries try to wreak their murderous vengeance. The American consuls in Italy and Switzerland receive thousands of protests against the intended outrage and a strong movement for a general strike is in progress backed by the railroad workers' union and other organizations.

Servile newspaper writers are busy to fool the people with a piece of fiction according to which the United States Republic is now the only banner bearer of right and justice amongst the peoples of the globe. Let them beware that not a thunderous voice sounds the answer across the oceans that their pretention is a deliberate blatant lie. Right and Justice would have very little show in the world if they depended solely on the law courts of the United States.

* * *

A PROGRESSING international revival from the nationalistic stupor, from the idiocy of race hatred and prejudice may be witnessed every day now by the observer of events. In all the belligerent countries the number of those men and women increases immensely

who have found out by bitter experience that the armies at the front do not fight for their "Homesteads," but for the reactionary powers of the governments and for the privileges and fortunes of the exploiting classes.

In France the Trade Unionists slowly regain their syndicalistic spirit. They published something like an ultimatum to the ruling classes in which it was strongly emphasized that unbearable misery and starvation in connection with the guillotine of censorship had very nearly exhausted the patience and endurance of the people. Along the same lines popular demonstrations have been going on in England and also in Russia where during the last months big strikes have taken place as a means to protest against the slaughter and waste of the war.

Similar encouraging signs of a revolutionary change in the attitude of the people towards the war come from Germany. Liebknecht's bold example had an arousing and inspiring influence. The *"Berner Tagwacht"* (mouthpiece of the anti-war and anti-military German Socialists), has published an article advocating open revolt against the increasing tyranny of military dictatorship. It says in part:

"The limit has been reached—the limit of sacrifices which imperialism can exact from German workers, the limit of endurance and of Socialist patriotism. Neither the hangman of imperialism nor the Judases of imperialistic Socialism can go further than this. It is hoped that it will also prove the limit of patience of the German proletariat.

"In the last few months that proletariat began to rattle its chains very forcibly. In the first number of Spartacus, an illegal organ of the international group which appeared in September, accounts were given of a demonstrative strike of 60,000 workmen in Berlin in July, of a demonstration strike in Brunswick on the occasion of the Liebknecht trial, the great street demonstration of Aug. 16, in Essen, of a simultaneous demonstration in Duisburg. On Nov. 2, a great demonstration took place in Dresden and the next day another in Berlin on the occasion of the revision of the Liebknecht trial. In Hamburg 30,000 dockers went on strike and compelled the dock owners and military authorities to yield concessions. These are proofs of a deep fermentation—indications that the tide is rising. To attempt to fetter the masses with chains in this state of affairs is a gambler's last trick."

On the growth of this spirit of rebellion and international brotherhood, and not on politicians and diplomats,

we have to base our hope for peace.

* * *

AFTER spending one year and nine months in prison and paying $500 in cash to the stern goddess of Justice, Patrick Quinlan has been released by Judge Klenert, who sentenced him for a term of two to seven years. The crime for which Quinlan had to go behind the bars was one highly to the credit of his character. He assisted the Paterson silk weavers in their attempt to gain a more human existence by means of a strike. That was sufficient for the law and order watch dogs of the manufacturers to invent some brazen lies for dame justice, who has a special weakness for all kinds of perjuries, policemen, detectives and other pillars of mammonistic rule may choose to swear to. Quinlan was guilty of hating and fighting exploitation and oppression but he was not guilty in regard to the special charges concocted against him.

Not he has to thank justice for his release, rather should justice apologize that it was blind enough to fall into the trap set up by the well known law firm of Judas and Co.

* * *

AGAIN Margaret Sanger has been arrested and her birth control clinic in Brooklyn broken into by the police. This time she is accused of "maintaining and keeping up a public nuisance." What a penetrating ingenious definition! To help women, stricken with poverty, bodily and mental misery *to avoid more* poverty and misery, is in the eyes of the "authorities" a public nuisance! Let us hope that the time is not far off when these authorities themselves will be declared a public nuisance and an eyesore to an intelligent community.

* * *

SEATTLE, WASH., seems to have a white raven for a mayor in the person of Mr. Gill. Instead of denouncing the I. W. W. as murderers and firebugs, Mr. Gill expressed the opinion that the Everett vigilantes acted as cowards when they fired their guns into the crowd on the steamer Verona. "McRae and his deputies," Mr. Gill is reported to have said:

"had no legal right to tell the I. W. W.'s or anyone else

that they could not land there. When the sheriff put his hand on the butt of his gun and told them they could not land, he fired the first shot, in the eyes of the law, and the I. W. W.'s can claim that they shot in self-defense."

If I were one of the party of forty I. W. W.'s who was almost beaten to death by 300 citizens of Everett without being able to defend myself, I probably would have armed myself if I intended to visit Everett again.

If the Everett authorities had an ounce of sense, this tragedy would have never happened. They have handled the situation like a bunch of imbeciles, and they have been trying to unload these men on to Seattle. You don't see any disturbances here, because we don't use nickel methods."

Plain facts and common sense! But as these articles are usually conspicuous only through their absence in the official opinions given at such occasions, one is really agreeably surprised. Perhaps the dignified editors of the big newspapers may now call the mayor of Seattle a conspirator, I. W. W. bum and an anarchist.

* * *

SPEAK about the the horrors of the Inquisition but don't say that such or similar things were only possible several hundred years ago in the dark ages of the medieval period.

Read what Mrs. Rena Mooney, the bright and courageous woman, who in connection with Tom Mooney, Edward Nolan, Warren K. Billings, and Israel Weinberg, is falsely accused of participating in the San Francisco preparedness parade bomb explosion, had to endure in the San Francisco Jail. The story is told in one of the leaflets published by the "International Workers' Defense League." We quote the following:

"Mrs. Rena Mooney's experience at the hands of her jailers was terrifying. Cold words cannot adequately convey the agonies piled on this brave woman by the beasts who masquerade as men in the Police and District Attorney's departments. When the Mooneys reached San Francisco City Jail, Mrs. Mooney was thrown into a toilet and bathroom, full of infected dirty linen and rubbish, and with two chairs for a bed was imprisoned there for two days and nights. The unbearable stench made her ill at once, and though the matron of the jail protested at the outrage and was willing to grant her request for a doctor, her protest was ignored. One of Mrs. Mooney's chivalrous jailers jeered, 'Give her some salts,' and his fellow hyenas laughed. On the second day District Attorney Fickert and Lieut. of Police Matheson wanted her to step out in the corridor for an interview, but Mrs. Mooney told them if the toilet was

good enough for her it was good enough for them. They stepped in long enough for Fickert to assure her that though he was kind (?) to her then, he would be a 'regular devil' at her trial. The next chivalrous visitor, Detective Steve Bunner, lyingly accused her of having illegitimate children in a city institution. His companion, Deputy District Attorney Jim Brennan, thrust his bulldog face close to hers and roared at her. 'You are twenty-one times a murderess. Billings told me he brought the bomb to your studio that fatal Friday night.' Mrs. Mooney told him Billings was too honest a lad to lie like that and challenged him to bring Billings face to face with her. Brennan's cowardly bluff failed, and this professional bully of defenseless women locked Mrs. Mooney up again in the unendurable toilet."

President Wilson in his latest message asked the people of the United States to pray and to do something for the unhappy people of the war-ridden countries in Europe. Is God such an out and out prejudiced American patriot that he would resent it if his attention were called to some horrors which have to be endured by people right here in the States?

## GOVERMENT BY MURDEROUS VIGILANTES

IN ORDER to get a good view of conditions as they are in this country it will be advisable to distinguish between the two different governments which rule in the United States.

Washington, D. C., boasts to be the seat of the federal government, the chief function of which is to be highly decorous and dignified. Besides, it is deeply concerned with foreign politics, closely watching over the "freedom of the seas" in order that the speculators in munition and foodstuffs may reap their gross, odious profits without difficulties and hindrance. Sometimes we also hear that the federal government has a tender heart for humanity. It opines that the war in Europe should be humanized. Only when it comes to the conditions of the people right here in this country, we find the government apparently entirely deaf, dumb and blind. When in all parts of the country strikers are maltreated by the police, gunmen, deputy sheriffs, when spokesmen of the workers, demanding free speech are railroaded under the most flimsy pretexts to prison, or murderously attacked and shot down by vigilantes, we do not hear a word of

protest or sympathy from that government in Washington, D. C.

The other government by which in addition to the political machine in the capitol the country is misruled follows much more definite, direct methods. It consists of the chambers of commerce, commercial clubs, merchant and manufacturers' associations, railroad companies, Standard Oil and other trusts. To uphold the existing social and economic conditions which breed hundreds of multi-millionaires and millions of slaves and paupers is its avowed first and last principle. The ruling power of this other government is first of all money, unlimited money for which it can buy and organize direct violence against the exploited, roughly handled, and therefore dissatisfied, unruly masses.

* * *

We may call this other government the government by murderous vigilantes. It has committed outrage after outrage in hundreds of places in all parts of the country and recently showed its bloody claws in Everett, Wash., where it is headed by a business men's organization, named the Commercial Club, closely related with the lumber trust.

In order to kill labor organization and to crush the strike of the shingle weavers and other walkouts, the people of Everett have been deprived of free speech and assembly. The vigilantes ruled supreme by sheer violence, rowdyism and gang rule. They made it impossible to discuss the strike situation or any other public affairs. Speakers were arrested, beaten up and deported. Automobile loads of workingmen have been taken to the woods where they had to run the gauntlet through a hail of blows from clubs and revolver butts. About 40 I. W. W. members coming from Seattle tried to hold a meeting in Everett, Oct. 30th. They were handled by the vigilantes in the manner just described. On Nov. 1, as we gather from reports in the *Industrial Worker* and *Solidarity*, a delegation from Everett that had no connection with the I. W. W., appeared at the Seattle headquarters of that organization requesting help for a new attempt to establish free speech in Everett. It was decided to arrange for an open meeting on Sunday, Nov.

5th and to go there by boat. The leaflet inviting to this meeting reads as follows:

CITIZENS OF EVERETT, ATTENTION!

The Workers Will Hold a Mass Meeting in Everett, Sunday, November 5th, at 2 P. M., at Hewett and Wetmore Aves. Come and Help Maintain Your Own and Our Constitutional Privileges. COMMITTEE.

That doesn't sound like the language of conspirators, who planned the destruction of Everett by fire, a story which was told to a gullible public by the newspapers. The description of what now followed we take from *Solidarity*, convinced that it is much nearer the facts than the reports in the capitalistic papers, which of course will not and dare not tell the truth:

It was the belief of the Workers that, on a Sunday, in broad daylight, there would be no attempt on the part of the respectable outlaw element, to engage in the same gangster malpractices as previously.

But they had reckoned without their host. They had not realized the length to which capital will go in order to strike at organized labor. They did not know that these law and order business men would trample on the very laws, and civil rights, they had praised so fulsomely on their political platform and in their press.

Some three hundred men left Seattle that black day for Everett. They were merry, going into the boat, and full of anticipations of victory.

Little did they think, that before the sun went down, they would be behind the bars of a prison, and that some of their number would have closed their eyes forever upon the world.

When the steamer Verona arrived in Everett, the wharves appeared to be deserted. When the boat was made fast, before any man had put foot to the gangway, a fusilade rang out and a large body of deputies made their appearance. These men were fully armed with revolvers, clubs and high powdered Winchester rifles.

The workers were completely taken by surprise—seeing some of their number fall, they were naturally enraged by this treacherous attack. A few men, frantic with fear, jumped into the water and were there shot dead by the thugs. Others were killed standing peacefully by the gunwales of the boat. In all, five workers were killed and thirty-one wounded. Most of the injuries were of a serious nature and, at this time of writing, the ultimate number of dead is hard to foretell.

No one made a landing, the boat cast off, with her load of dead, dying and wounded, went back to Seattle.

Such is freedom, liberty, and prosperity in Everett and the State of Washington.

On the side of the vigilantes one man was killed and

twenty injured. So far nothing has transpired to indicate that the leaders of the vigilantes have been arrested and charged with violating the laws and constitution of the country by deliberately attacking and killing people who insisted upon their perfectly clear right to speak and discuss freely and to hold public meetings. On the other hand nearly 300 members of the I. W. W. who came to Everett for the purpose to uphold that much paraded constitutional right of free assemblage are confined in the Seattle jail and charges of murder are prepared wholesale against them.

A defense committee has been organized. Communications and funds are to be directed to Herbert Mahler, Box 85, Nippon Station, Seattle, Wash.

## FROM THE BATTLE FIELD OF THE SOCIAL WAR

Seattle, Wash., No. 6, 1916.

My Dear Emma:

Hell broke loose in this part of the country yesterday as you have seen by the papers.

I saw a telegram to-day from Ben, pledging support. I am glad indeed to know he and you are so prompt and thoughtful. This is the time encouragement is needed.

My heart is very heavy to-day when I look at five of the I. W. W. boys, lying in the city morgue, young and beautiful specimens of manhood, just come in from the harvest fields many of them, and 48 more in the hospital, 20 of whom may die. But they are a splendid lot to-day at the Hall. I see no tears there to-day but a smile instead and a determined look.

Three of the law and order squad in Everett are dead and 19 in the hospital.

We here have been denied the privilege of seeing either the wounded or those in jail of which there are 207. Habeas corpus proceedings were started to-day, so by Wednesday we will be able to see our prisoners.

Telegrams are coming from all over the country pledging support.

Affectionately,

MINNIE RIMER

# THE LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Alexander Berkman

THE conviction of Warren K. Billings, the first of the San Francisco "bomb" defendants to be tried, was a great shock to Maxwell McNutt, chief counsel for the defense. Billings had what the lawyers call a "perfect case." His alibi was most convincing; in fact, his story on the stand was corroborated in practically every detail by the Chief of Police White, to whom Billings had explained his every step soon after he was arrested.

McNutt confidently expected an acquittal. The prosecution had no case at all, while on the other hand the most reputable witnesses actually proved that Billings could not possibly have been connected with the preparedness parade explosion. The conviction of Billings was therefore such a shock to McNutt that he actually took sick and had to go to a hospital. Thus the defense of the San Fraicisco men remained without a chief counsellor. It was specially for that reason, as well as to help organize a campaign of publicity and collect funds, that the International Workers' Defense League of San Francisco requested me to go East.

When I came to New York, I was surprised to find that the situation on the Coast was practically unknown, even to the radical elements. Only a few here and there in the labor unions had heard of the cases of Billings, Nolan, Mooney, Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg. But generally very little was known about the terrible conditions obtaining on the Coast, ond of the plot of the Chamber of Commerce to railroad our friends to the gallows. My first steps were to secure an attorney willing and able to take charge of the San Francisco cases, and I must say that I felt the deepest satisfaction when, through the aid of local friends, we were able to secure the services of Bourke Cockran, the celebrated attorney and orator, who was so much impressed by reading the transcript of the Billings case that he consented to take charge of the defense without a fee. It is hardly necessary to mention how jubilant our San Francisco prisoners were when they were informed of our success in that direction. Of

course, we will have to foot the expenses of Mr. Cockran, but the very fact that he consented to take the cases without compensation, is something to give new faith in human nature. It was his indignation at the San Francisco frame-up, as proven by the Billings case, that induced him to consent to our request.

My next step was to interest the radical element of New York and the Jewish labor organizations in the big fight in San Francisco. On Monday, November 13th, I appeared before the United Hebrew Trades, the largest and most influential central Jewish labor organization in this country. I explained to the delegates the situation in San Francisco; briefly sketched the character of the past labor activities of the accused men, pointing out at the same time that back of their prosecution is the most bitter fight for the open shop on the part of organized capital on the Coast. After thoroughly discussing the situation, the delegates of the United Hebrew Trades unanimously voted to support the San Francisco prisoners to the utmost of their moral and financial power. As an initial expression of their active sympathy, the United Hebrew Trades called a national conference of all the Jewish speaking elements, including labor unions, Workmen's Circle, Nazionaler Verband and other organizations and groups. The first session took place Sunday, November 26th. The call of the United Hebrew Trades found a splendid response. The large "Forward" hall was crowded with delegates, over eighty organizations being represented. The gathering was enthusiastic in behalf of the accused labor men, and steps were initiated looking toward the rousing of a monster country-wide protest to snatch the lives of our comrades from the bloodthirsty maw of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco.

Mr. Cockran is a great lawyer and a wonderful orator, but his efforts alone will not be sufficient to save our accused friends, back of whose prosecution is the combind power of the Big Interests in California. It is necessary to organize a country-wide campaign of publicity and thus crystalize the general voice of protest on the part of those who believe in fair play and justice. That alone can save our friends. It is necessary to understand that the attempt to hang Mooney, Nolan, Billings and

Weinberg is not only for the purpose of getting rid of some of the most intelligent and active factors in the California labor movement, but even more so to discredit and destroy the militant labor movement on the Coast. It is a question that vitally concerns every member of organized labor, and all those who stand for progress and humanity. As one of the means towards arousing publicity, a big mass meeting is to take place in Carnegie Hall, December 2nd, on which occasion Frank P. Walsh, Emma Goldman, Max Pine, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Arthur Giovannitti, Max Eastman, Pat Quinlan, just released from the Trenton prison, and myself are to be the speakers.

The meeting is held under the auspices of the United Hebrew Trades, and numerous unions, radical organizations and groups have promised participation with their flags and banners. A street demonstration is also to be held on the afternoon of December 2nd, in behalf of Carlo Tresca and his imprisoned co-workers in Minnesota, and of our labor-prisoners in California; the demonstration to culminate in Union Square at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon where a big mass meeting is to take place, thence to join the Carnegie Hall meeting. The New York radical papers, among them the "Call," "Forward." the "Warheit," the "Tag" and others have taken up the labor struggle in California and the fight of our accused friends in San Francisco, and have aided us considerably in giving the matter publicity among the labor elements. Every effort should be bent towards getting more publicity in the English press. Everyone interested in the cause of humanity should contribute towards the moral and financial success of this great movement, whose purpose it is to save the lives of our martyrs and to strengthen the hands of the militant labor element in this country.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

**DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.**

# THE PETTY DISCRIMINATION OF THE LAW

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

My dear Miss Goldman: I have been notified that Judge Delehanty has denied your motion for a jury trial.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

IN MY absence on tour my friend, Harry Weinberger, argued the motion for a jury for me. The above is his answer, which I received a few days ago. In our most enlightened city, New York, the right of jury trial is denied for a misdemeanor. Gilbert E. Roe appeared before the Appelate Court in behalf of William Sanger to secure a jury, but his request was also denied.

It would never have occurred to me to try for a jury had I believed that the law really stands for impartiality; but of course it does not. One woman openly gives out birth control methods, not once but repeatedly, but because she is socially connected, she is never molested. Others are arrested even if they do not give out methods. In another case, the District Attorney conveniently closes his eyes to a motion for a jury trial, and the motion is granted because of the influential connections of the defendant's attorney. Yet, I am denied a jury.

Of course, all this is not new to me, nor is it to those who know the farce and the crookedness of the law. But it will be news to many of our readers who still persist in asking "how can they—how dare they?" Perhaps this little incident, which is but one in a thousand will convince our unsophisticated friends that the law and its upholders dare everything they please. Why not? Whoever—outside of the Anarchists—seriously objects to laws, pointing out that laws and justice are opposite poles?

Knowing, as I did, that the club, and not a sense of justice, decides the direction of the law, I am not disappointed with the denial of our motion, nor am I sanguine about the outcome of my trial which has been set for Dec. 1st, but which will most likely be postponed for a little while. True, I will be able to call fifty witnesses on the stand who were at the meeting May 20th, who stood close to our automobile and were able to see who did and who did not give out birth control circulars.

But what is the word of fifty reputable people as against the testimony of a wretched detective, especially when the defendant in the case is an Anarchist, one who has already "graduated" from several jails? Did not the District Attorney have the temerity to question my veracity when I was on the witness stand for our friend Bolton Hall, just because I had been convicted before? Of course, he knew perfectly well that my "crimes" consisted in standing up for a truth, but such a fact is not expected to weigh in the balance with a prosecutor.

I want our friends to know that anything is possible in our courts. I do not need to emphasize that I am not afraid, nor am I particularly worried about the outcome of my case. It is only that I like to face facts and be prepared for the worst. I will plead my own case. I will pay no fine: therefore I need no help for that end of our struggle. But it is not a question of myself so much as it is of the issue itself—Birth Control. I am convinced that this issue was advanced at least ten years through the publicity given it by our arrests and trials. But publicity costs considerably. Almost every cent our friends so generously contributed to my first trial and that of Ben Reitman, went for publicity and propaganda. Twenty thousand birth control numbers of MOTHER EARTH alone were circulated broadcast, to mention but one of the many other items published.

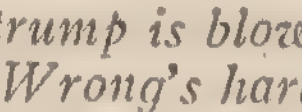
I said in our last issue that I believe in giving out birth control methods. I have done so from the platform in New York and other cities, and I will do so again. At this writing, we have closed a course of sixteen lectures in Chicago, of which those on birth control brought out the largest audiences. I discussed methods in the presence of the police, and leaflets were given out. But I did not give them out on May 20th. I confess I regret now not to have done so. I believe with the Russian mujik, "If I drink I die, and if I don't drink I die, so I might just as well drink and die."

Since I must be molested, since I must be taken off without a warrant, since I must be put to the hideous inconvenience of a trial, I might just as well have been guilty. But as I am not, I refuse to oblige the District Attorney. I want to make a big fight. I want to show

up the petty persecutions, the discriminations and the chicanery practiced in the District Attorney's office. I need your help for that.

First, write letters to Edward Swann, District Attorney, protest against the persecution and prosecution of one whose offense consists in standing for a world-wide movement. Do it now.

Secondly: Send your contribution to me, 20 East 125th Street, New York City, N. Y. It is worth making an effort, for the truth must prevail in the end.



## THE WARFARE

BY I. G. BLANCHARD

*ALONG the battle's flaming van*
*We mark the tried and true,—*
*Defenders of the cause of man,*
*A chosen, peerless few.*
*Born to their mission and inspired,*
*Oh, should they fall, we feel*
*No spirit would like theirs be fired,*
*No hand could wield their steel.*

*Yet, one by one, they step aside,*
*Or on the red field lie,*
*And still their places are supplied, ,*
*Still rings the battle-cry;*
*Still o'er the hoary walls of Wrong*
*Truth's startling missiles fly,*
*And still, with steady step and strong,*
*Her hosts are marching by.*

*And so it shall be evermore,*
*Until the trump is blown,*
*Proclaiming Wrong's hard rule is o'er,*
*And Right is on the throne.*
*Oh, fear not for our cause sublime!*
*Let hate do all it can;*
*For in the darkest coming time*
*The hour shall bring the man.*

# SO THAT ALL MAY KNOW—

*A Story of Blood and Iron*

By HARRISON GEORGE

WE SELDOM consider the plights of others unless placed, in fancy at least, in their situations. Suppose, for instance, you chalk off a space in your room seven feet square, lower the ceiling to eight feet, imagine three walls and the ceiling are solid steel, the floor of re-enforced concrete, the fourth side shut off from a gloomy corridor by crossed bars of steel. That you were under lock and key in this space day and night with two or three others. Thus girt round with metal you would, among other things, be impressed with the importance of steel in structural work.

When you stretched out your narrow canvas from wall to wall at night, and sleep o'er-came you, no doubt but your dream visions would reflect the hope of your waking hours; the hope of release, to walk and work again among your fellows, to be free to labor, to laugh and to love.

Such is the situation this day and hour, of seven men in the county jail at Duluth, Minnesota; under indictment for murder as a result of a recent strike on the Mesaba Range. The wife of one is also indicted, but out on bail. All await trial December fifth.

If you believed as do these men; that you were there because of your efforts to improve labor conditions by functioning in a great strike, guilty of no crime but opposing organized capital in that strike; you would doubtless like the world of labor to hear your story.

Here then in brief, is their story; as substantiated by investigators of the Industrial Relations Committee and the Minnesota Labor Commission; revealed by hundreds of affidavits and endorsed by the State Federations of Labor of both Michigan and Minnesota.

The Mesaba Range produces 65 per cent. of the nation's output of iron. It is controlled absolutely by the U. S. Steel Corporation, whose hostility to labor is infamous. In bygone years it imported workers from all nations to aid in keeping labor divided. Since the lost strike nine years ago, conditions grew worse day by day. Working per diem or by contract, your pay grew less and

less; without you had a roll of bills, a pretty daughter or a handsome wife to turn over to the greed and lust of foremen.

A climax came. June 2nd last, a strike began at Aurora, spreading rapidly across the range. A mass of revolting workers, speaking many tongues, laid down tools in every camp, without organization or spokesmen. Someone among them sent for Carlo Tresca (Italian), Joe Schmidt (Slavic), and Sam Scarlett; to speak and organize. These came and worked night and day instructing the miners how to express themselves in a compact union body. They offered to leave the state when the operators would agree to confer with the men; but the operators, "had nothing to arbitrate."

Hundreds of gunmen of the usual type were imported by the Steel Trust and deputized. Over six hundred arrests were made on all sorts of pretexts. John Allar, an unarmed striker, was killed; shot in the back, near his humble home. Many were beaten and wounded. All constitutional rights were revoked.

On July 3rd, four drunken deputies rushed into the home of Philip Masonovich at Biwabik. One struck his wife, knocking her down. Her husband and three boarders, although unarmed, sprang up to defend her. In the fight that followed a deputy was killed; shot, as evidence indicates, by another in the confusion. Besides the occupants of the house, including the woman and her tiny baby; all the organizers on the range were gathered up, sent by special train to Duluth and charged with murder.

Despite discouragements the strike went on till late September, when the miners voted to resume work and devote all energy to the defense of their wrongly accused brothers.

They have engaged Judge O. N. Hilton of Denver, Arthur LeSueur of Ft. Scott and John A. Keyes of Duluth to head the counsel for the defense. A most momentous legal battle will soon begin, when these clash with the vindictive power of the Steel Trust.

And, as I write, in Joe Schmidt's Pennsylvania home, a wasted baby form lies in a little coffin; a baby that never knew its father—one of those men in the small steel cells at Duluth; where the chill winds from Lake Superior whistle around the prison, the abode always provided by capital for a rebellious worker.

# THE NEMESIS OF REMORSE

By W. S. Van Valkenburgh

PLEDGE signing is often invoked as punishment for the overindulgence in the liquid fire of rum and, quite frequently this opportunity is readily grasped by the weak-minded victim of civilization's tender culture.

The pledge being taken and the resolution being made, the sinner is, for a time, a bit remorseful and inclined to look back with regret upon a sorry past.

But time soothes all sentiment, and soon he leads himself back into the old ways through the well worn ruts of custom.

Why this eternal slavery to evil?

It is the combined result of misdirected desire and poverty of the ideal.

Man is too self-conscious. Superstition has erected within him a towering mental Ego that blinds his senses to the realization of his individual unimportance.

So he indulges in a flirtation with the dead memories of a wasted past, unmindful of the opportunities that await him in the present to be beckoned on ahead. He does not know the past can never be recalled whilst the future is aglow with hope and joy unbounded.

Rather than brood, the sad one should rejoice. That the past was not worse is because he could not have made it so; that it was not better is because he did not desire it so.

Why bother at all about it?

Resolutions are a curse to hope: an incentive to repetition.

Man must build himself a rational religion. One without steeples, texts or dogmas, a religion devoid of priests and monks and harlots, a religion of hope and the will to do, and then crown it over with a deity whose name shall be IDEAL.

If such faith cannot regenerate the soul-sick supplicant then man indeed, is a worthless proselyte.

For nineteen hundred years Christianity has preached repentance and resolution. With hands stained scarlet in human blood the priests of the Christian church have extended forgiveness for sins the devil would never stoop to do.

It is time for man to stand on his own feet and take unto himself the task of realizing his chosen Ideal without regard to what the past has been, the present is or the future may acclaim. He needs no other comforter than this.

Who espouses the Ideal masters passion; rises over self and, urged on by a desire that is only cherished by the impervious shall reach the heights though he scatter devastation in his wake.

As in the light of the beacon to the mariner, so shall shine such a creed to the soul of the free.

To the seeker, to the searcher, no resolutions are required, to him no pledges appeal, for the pursuit of truth brings forth its own solace. Self-abandonment leads on to that distant Utopia that man is ever reaching, and the pure Ideal linked up with an indomitable will shall surmount all barriers and rise supreme.

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## TO OUR NEW YORK FRIENDS

YOU will be glad, I am sure, to learn that I am returning to New York for the winter to resume my lecture work. It is always a great joy to me to get back to our city, for while I have tremendous meetings all through the country, New York is the one great force and always lures me back. After all, I have spent more than a quarter of a century and have made the hardest and bitterest struggle there. It almost seems that every street and every stone played their part in that struggle.

I will open a series of lectures at the Harlem Masonic Temple, 310 Lenox Ave., between 125th and 126th Streets. Sunday, Jan. 7th, I will speak on "Anarchism and Human Nature: Do They Harmonize?" Sunday, Jan. 14th, on the "Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child" when I will discuss the "Gary System." Sunday, Jan. 21st, on "Obedience, a Social Vice." Sunday, Jan, 28th, on "Celibacy or Sex Expression."

You can see that all the subjects are very timely and will answer the many objections raised invariably at every meeting. I am hoping that out of the first month will develop sufficient interest to enable me to take some theatre or large hall, more centrally located, where I could give my course of lectures on "The Life Struggle

and Martyrdom of Russian Literature"; also a series of lectures tracing the ideal of Anarchism in the American classic period. For that I will of course need your assistance and co-operation, and you can help in many ways.

First of all, please call for cards and tickets at our office. Secondly, interest as many people as you can reach, in the forthcoming course. Third, if the idea of a theatre or large hall appeals to you, will you not contribute towards the expense? Imagine that you are sending some Christmas presents to MOTHER EARTH. Not that we have any reason to rejoice over the "Birth of Jesus," since neither his birth nor his death has done anything for humanity,—but you have it in your power to do much in spreading our ideas and in helping me to place our message before thinking people. Let me hear from you, and do not fail to write for tickets and cards to the office.

Hoping to see you all this coming winter and with all good wishes to you for the New Year.

Faithfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

## PROPAGANDA WORK

Chicago, Nov. 23rd, 1916.

OUR meetings in this city were most wonderful, thanks to the weeks of preliminary work done by Ben Reitman and a group of faithful helpers. A detailed account of our visit here and in other cities will appear in the next issue of MOTHER EARTH.

From here we go to Milwaukee for lectures. Then I am to rush back to New York to add my voice to the great protest which is to be raised in Carnegie Hall, December 2nd. After that, I shall be in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for a series of six lectures on Russian Literature and two Propaganda lectures, beginning Monday, Dec. 4th, 4:15 P. M., at Woodman's Hall, Cor. Main St.

Friday, Dec. 8th, we will have a meeting in Detroit. The hall will be announced later. I am sorry that I will not be able to stay longer in that city where we have so many faithful friends.

Sunday, Dec. 10th, I shall give two lectures in Cleveland, at Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road, 3 P. M.—

"Anarchism and Human Nature—Do they Harmonize?" At 8 P. M., "The Life and Struggle of Russian Literature: Leo Tolstoy, Artist and Prophet."

Monday and Tuesday evening, we will be at Moose Hall, 1000 Walnut Street. Monday evening, "The Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child." Tuesday evening, "Is Birth Control Harmful—a Discussion of the Limitation of Offspring."

Wednesday, Dec. 13th, we open up a course of lectures in Rochester, N. Y. Wednesday morning at the *Century Club* on "Tolstoy."

Thursday and Friday, Dec. 14th, at Recital Hall, Fine Arts Bldg., Cor. Elm and Chestnut Streets.

Thursday, 8 P. M., Henry Ibsen's "Ghosts," and "Enemy of Society.

Friday, Dec. 15th, 8 P. M., August Strindberg's "The Father" and "Countess Julia."

Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 17th, 18th and 19th, 8 P. M., at the Labor Lyceum, 580 St. Paul St.

Sunday evening, "Anarchism and Human Nature—Do They Harmonize?"

Monday evening, "The Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child."

Tuesday evening, "Free or Forced Motherhood?"—(the Need of Birth Control).

Our friends who wish to get further details, cards and tickets in the different cities can communicate as follows: Ann Arbor, Agnes Ingles, 1340 Wilmot St.; Cleveland, Richard Laukhoff, Bookseller, 40 Taylor Arcade; Rochester, N. Y., Mrs. H. Hochstein, 421 Joseph Avenue.

I can be reached at either of the above addresses.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

## TRIPLE ALLIANCE FOR THE EXPLICIT PURPOSE of UPLIFTING THE FALLEN MASSES

By M. K. SERALIEN

FATHER-RELIGION—"I will lift his soul in prayer; then he will forget that he has a body."

FATHER LAND—"I will lift his body with the flying cannonball's; he will forget that he had a soul."

FATHER-WEALTH—"I will lift his earnings; he will forget that he had either a soul or a body."

THUS WITH THE MERCY OF THE ALMIGHTY AND HIS FAITHFUL UPLIFTING ALLIANCE

THE *MASSES* ARE *COMPLETELY UP-LIFTED* ! ! !

# ANARCHIST MORALITY

By PETER KROPOTKIN

(*Continued*)

WE ARE speaking, of course, of the deliberate, conscious acts of men, reserving for the present what we have to say about that immense series of unconscious, all but mechanical acts, which occupy so large a portion of our life. Well! In his deliberate, conscious acts man always seeks what will give him pleasure.

One man gets drunk, and every day lowers himself to the condition of a brute, because he seeks in liquor the nervous excitement that he cannot obtain from his own nervous system. Another does not get drunk; he takes no liquor, even though he finds it pleasant, because he wants to keep the freshness of his thoughts and the plenitude of his powers, that he may be able to taste other pleasures which he prefers to drink. But how does he act if not like the man of good living who, after glancing at the menu of an elaborate dinner, rejects one dish that he likes very well to eat his fill of another that he likes better?

Whatever he does, man seeks a pleasure or shuns a pain.

When a woman deprives herself of her last piece of bread to give it to the first comer, when she takes off her own scanty rags to cover another woman who is cold, while she herself shivers on the deck of a vessel, she does so because she would suffer infinitely more in seeing a hungry man, or a woman severely suffering from cold, than in shivering, or feeling hungry, herself. She escapes a pain of which only those who have felt it know the intensity.

When the Australian, quoted by Guyau, wastes away under the idea that he has not yet revenged his kinsman's death; when he grows thin and pale, a prey to the consciousness of his cowardice, and does not return to life till he has done the deed of vengeance, he performs this action, a heroic one sometimes, to free himself of a feeling which possesses him, to regain that inward peace, which is the highest of pleasures.

When a pack of monkeys has seen one of its members

fall in consequence of a hunter's shot, and come to besiege his tent and claim the body, despite the threatening gun; when at length the elder of the band goes right in, first threatens the hunter, then implores him, and finally, by his lamentations, induces him to give up the corpse, which the groaning pack carries off into the forest, these monkeys obey a feeling of compassion stronger than all considerations of personal security. This feeling in them exceeds all others. Life itself loses its attraction for them whilst they are not sure whether they can restore life to their comrade or not. This feeling becomes so oppressive that the poor brutes do everything to get rid of it.

When the ants rush by thousands into the flames of the burning ant hill, which that evil beast, man, has set on fire, and perish by hundreds to rescue their larvæ, they again obey a craving to save their offspring. They risk everything for the sake of bringing away the larvæ that they have brought up with more care than many women bestow on their children.

Finally, when an infusoria escapes a too powerful ray of heat, and goes in search of a tepid ray, or when a plant turns its flowers towards the sun, or closes up its leaves at the approach of night, these beings still obey the need of shunning pain and seeking pleasure; just like the ant, the monkey, the Australian, and the martyred Christian or Anarchist.

To seek pleasure, to avoid pain, is the general line of action (some would say, law) of the organic world.

Without this quest of the agreeable, life itself would be impossible. Organisms would disintegrate, life cease.

Thus whatever a man's actions and line of conduct may be, he does what he does in obedience to a craving of his nature. The most repulsive actions, no less than actions which are indifferent or most attractive, are all equally dictated by a need of the individual who performs them. Let him act as he may, the individual acts as he does because he finds a pleasure in it, or avoids, or thinks he avoids, a pain.

Here we have a well established fact. Here we have the essence of what has been called the egoistic theory.

Very well, are we any better off for having reached this general conclusion,

Yes, certainly we are. We have conquered truth, and destroyed a falsehood which lies at the root of all prejudices. All materialist philosophy in its relation to man is implied in this conclusion. But does it follow that all actions of the individual are indifferent, as some have hastened to conclude? This is what we now have to investigate.

## III.

We have seen that men's actions (their deliberate and conscious actions, for we will speak afterwards of unconscious habits) have the same origin. Those that are called virtuous and those that are designated as vicious, great devotions and petty knaveries, acts that attract and acts that repel, all spring from a common source. All are performed in answer to some need of the individual's nature. All have for their end the quest of pleasure, the desire to avoid pain.

We have seen this in the last chapter, which is but a very short summary of a mass of facts that might be brought forward in support of this view.

It is easy to understand how this explanation makes those still imbued with religious principles cry out. It leaves no room for the supernatural; it throws over the idea of an immortal soul. If man only acts in obedience to the needs of his nature, if he is, so to say, but a "conscious automaton," what becomes of the immortal soul? What of immortality, that last refuge of those who have known too few pleasures and too many sufferings, and who dream of finding some compensation in another world?

It is easy to understand how folks who have grown up in prejudice and with but little confidence in science, which has so often deceived them, folks who are led by feeling rather than thought, reject an explanation which takes from them their last hope.

But what are we to say of those revolutionists who, from the last century down to our own day, each time that they have heard for the first time of a natural explanation of human actions (the egoistic theory, if you like), hasten to draw from it the same conclusion as that

young Nihilist we were speaking of, and eargerly cry: "Down with morality!"

What are we to say of those who, on being persuaded that man only acts in one way or another in answer to a need of his nautre, hasten to conclude that *all his actions are indifferent;* that there is no longer either good or evil, that to save a drowning man at the risk of one's life, or to drown a man for the sake of his watch are two equally worthy acts; that the martyr dying on the scaffold after laboring for the freedom of mankind and the petty scoundrel stealing from his comrades are one as worthy as the other,—as both are seeking to please themselves.

If they further added that there must be no good and bad odors; neither perfume of the rose nor stench of *assa foetida,* because both are nothing but vibrations of molecules; that there must be no good and bad taste, because the bitterness of quinine and the sweetness of the guava are also nothing but molecular vibrations; that there is neither physical beauty nor physical ugliness, neither intelligence nor imbecility, because beauty and ugliness, intelligence and imbecility are again but the results of chemical and physical vibrations operating within the cells of the organism; if they added this, we might say that they were raving, but that at least they possessed a madman's logic.

But as they do not say this, what must we conclude?

Our answer is simple. Mandeville, who reasoned in this way in 1724 in his "Fable of the Bees," the Russian Nihilist of 1860—70, and some Parisian Anarchists of our day reason thus, because all unconsciously they are still enveloped in the clouds of prejudice, the prejudice of their Christian education. However atheistic, however materialistic, however anarchistic they believe themselves, they are reasoning exactly as the Fathers of the Church or the founders of Buddhism reasoned.

This, in effect, is what those worthy elders used to say: "An action will be good if it represents a victory of the soul over the flesh; it will be evil if the flesh has overcome the soul; if neither, then it will be indifferent. *Only by this can we judge if the action is good or bad."* And our young friends go on repeating after the Christian

and Buddhist Fathers: "Only by this can we judge if the action is good or bad."

The Fathers of the Church said: "Behold the beasts; they have no immortal soul; their actions are performed simply in answer to the needs of their nature; *this is why* there can be neither good nor evil actions amongst beasts; all are indifferent; and this is why for beasts there is neither heaven nor hell, neither reward nor punishment." And our young friends take up this doctrine of St. Augustine and Cakyamouni, and go on saying: "Man is but a beast, his acts are simply performed in answer to the needs of nature; *this is why* there can be neither good nor evil actions amongst men. All actions are indifferent."

It is still this accursed idea of punishment and atonement that thwarts human reason; it is still this absurd legacy from religious instruction, teaching that an act is good if it springs from a supernatural inspiration, and indifferent if the supernatural origin is wanting. It is still the same old idea, even amongst those who laugh at it the loudest: the angel on the right shoulder and the devil on the left. "Drive away the devil and the angel, and I cannot tell you if such and such an action is good or bad, for I do not know of any other test to judge it by."

The priest is everlastingly there with his devil and his angel, and, what is still worse, the magistrate is everlastingly there too, with his lash for one and his recompenses for another, and even the principle of anarchism is not strong enough to uproot the idea of punishment and reward.

Well, we want neither priest nor magistrate. And we say simply: Does *assa foetida* stink? Does the snake bite me? Does the liar deceive me? And the plant, the reptile, and the man are obeying a need of their natures? So be it! Well, I, for my part, also obey a need of my nature in hating the plant that stinks, the reptile that kills with its venom, and the man who is still more venomous than the reptile. And I shall act in consequence, without addressing myself for that purpose either to the devil, with whom I have not the honor of being acquainted, or to the magistrate, whom I detest even more than the snake. I, and all those who share my antipathies also obey the needs of our natures. And we shall see

who of the two has reason, and therefore logic, on his side.

By this investigation we shall discover that if the Saint Augustines had no other basis to distinguish between good and evil, the animal world has another which is far more efficient. The animal world in general, from insects to men, know perfectly what is good and what is bad, without consulting Bible or philosophy.

All theologians have had recourse to divine inspiration to distinguish between good and evil. They have seen that man, be he savage or civilized, ignorant or learned, corrupted or honest, always knows if he is acting well or bad, and as they have found no explanation of this general fact, they have put it down to divine inspiration. Metaphysical philosophers, on their side, have told us of conscience, of a mystic "imperative," and, after all, have changed nothing but the phrases.

But neither have known how to estimate the very simple and very striking fact that animals living in societies are also able to distinguish between good and evil, just as man does. Moreover, their conceptions of good and evil are of the same nature as those of man. Amongst the highest developed representatives of each separate species,—fish, insects, birds, mammals, they are even identical.

The thinkers of the 18th century noticed this, but it has been forgotten again, and it is for us now to bring forward the full significance of the fact.

Forel, that inimitable observer of ants, has shown by a mass of observations and facts that, when an ant who has her crop well filled meets hungry ants, the latter immediately ask her for food. And amongst these little insects it is the duty of the satisfied ant to disgorge that her hungry friends may also be satisfied. Ask the ants, if it would be right to refuse food to other ants of the same ant-hill. They will answer, by actions impossible to mistake, that it would be extremely wrong. So selfish an ant would be more harshly treated than enemies of another species. If such a thing happened during a battle between two different species, the ants would stop fighting to fall upon the selfish comrade. This fact has been proved by experiments which exclude all doubt.

Or again, ask the sparrows living in your garden, if

it is right not to call all the members, when some crumbs are thrown out, so that all may come and share in the meal. Ask them, if that hedge sparrow has done right in stealing from his neighbor's nest those straws he had picked up, straws which the thief was too lazy to go and collect for himself. The sparrows will answer that he is very wrong, by flying at the robber and pecking at him.

Or ask the marmots, if it is right for one to refuse access to his underground storehouse to other marmots of the same colony. They will answer that it is very wrong by quarrelling in all sorts of ways with the miser.

Finally, ask primitive man, a Tchoukche for instance, if it is right to take food from the tent of a member of the tribe during his absence. He will answer that, if the man could get his food for himself, it was very wrong. On the other hand, if he was weary or in want, he ought to take food where he finds it; but, in such a case, he will do well to leave his cap or his knife, or even a bit of knotted string, so that the absent hunter may know on his return that a friend has been there, not a robber. Such a precaution will save him the anxiety caused by the possible presence of a marauder near his tent.

Thousands of similar facts might be quoted; whole books might be written, to show how identical are the conceptions of good and evil amongst men and the other animals.

The ant, the bird, the marmot, the Tchoukche savage have read neither Kant nor the Fathers of the Church nor even Moses. And yet all have the same idea of good and evil. And if you reflect for a moment what lies at the bottom of this idea, you will see directly that what is considered as *good* amongst, ants, marmots, and Christian or Atheist moralists is that which is *useful* for the preservation of the race; and that which is considered *evil* is that which is hurtful for race preservation. Not for the individual, as Bentham and Mill put it, but fair and good for the whole race.

The idea of good and evil has thus nothing to do with religion or a mystic conscience; it is a natural need of animal races.

Is this useful to society? Then it is good. Is this hurtful? Then it is bad.

This idea may be extremely restricted amongst the in-

ferior animals, it may be enlarged amongst the more advanced animals; but its essence always remains the same.

Amongst ants it does not extend beyond the ant-hill. All social customs, all rules of good behavior are applicable only to the individuals in that one ant-hill, not to any others. One ant-hill will not consider another as belonging to the same family, unless under some exceptional circumstances, such as a common distress falling upon both. In the same way the sparrows in the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris, though they will mutually aid oneanother, will fight to the death with another sparrow from the Monge Square who may dare to venture into the Luxembourg. And the Tchoukche will look upon a Tchoukche of another tribe as a person to whom the usages of his own tribe do not apply. It is even allowable to sell to him, and to sell is always to rob the buyer more or less; buyer or seller, one or other is always "sold." A Tchoukche would think it a crime to sell to the members of his tribe: to them he gives without any reckoning. And civilized man, when at last he understands the relations between himself and the simplest Papuan, though imperceptible at the first glance, will extend his principles of solidarity to the whole human race and even to the animals. The idea enlarges, but its foundation remains the same.

On the other hand, the conception of good or evil varies according to the degree of intelligence or of knowledge acquired. There is nothing unchangeable about it.

Primitive man may have thought it very right, *i. e.*, useful to the race, to eat his aged parents, when they became a charge upon the community—a very heavy charge in the main. He may have also thought it right, *i. e.*, useful to the community, to kill his new born children, and only keep two or three in each family, so that the mother could suckle them until they were three years old and lavish more of her tenderness upon them.

In our days ideas have changed, but the means of subsistence are no longer what they were in the Stone Age. Civilized man is not in the position of the savage family who had to choose between two evils: either to eat the aged parents or else to get insufficient nourishment and soon find themselves unable to feed both the aged parents

and the young children. We must imagine ourselves in those ages, which we can scarcely call up in our mind, before we can understand that, in the circumstances then existing, half-savage man may have reasoned rightly enough. In fact, do we not see the peoples of Oceana a prey to the ravages of scurvy, since the missionaries have brought them to give up eating their aged kinsfolk and their enemies?

(To be continued)

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## REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE COLOR OF LIFE is the title of a breezy little book, containing sketches and short stories full of human and all too human documents. The author's name is Emanuel Julius. He is a writer of no mean ability, an artist and keen observer of what is going on at life's masquerade ball. The idea and satire displayed in any one of his impressionistic impromptus, covering perhaps only a page or even half a page, would enable this or that famous novelist of our days to write a story of 700 pages if he had the courage to steal that idea and satire from Emanuel Julius and work it up efficiently on the typewriter. Stories like *The Scab, Matty and Abbo,* (a satire on the career of one of the most successful newspaper publishers in the country) *The Wine that talked,* and many others in the book are each in itself worth the 50 cents for which amount you get the whole collection with the portrait of the author into the bargain.

Address, Emanuel Julius,
Gerard, Kansas,
P. O. Box 125.

* * *

From the *Sociology Club,* Schenectady, N. Y., we received THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM, CAUSE AND CURE, by "Analyticus."

The booklet consists of several lectures delivered before the club and afterwards ardently studied in twenty sessions by the members, as Comrade W. S. Van Valkenburgh, the secretary, states in the preface. We venture with all modesty the opinion that the students would have derived more benefit for their enlightenment and insight if they had studied, instead of the lectures of

"Analyticus," some of the authors mentioned by him, for instance Proudhon and Marx.

"Analyticus" claims to have found the solution for the unemployment problem.

Here goes:

> The profit system is not the cause of unemployment and any attempt to strike at the profits will be wasted efforts. THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO EMANCIPATE THE WORKERS, and that is, BY A SYSTEM OF GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT FINANCED BY THE EMPLOYED WORKERS for the equal benefit of all the workers whether employed or unemployed. This is what I mean when I say that the emancipation of the workers must come from the workers themselves. It must come from the worker's own brain, and brawn, and pocketbook; there is no other way but this.

Why not go a step further and propose to the workers to provide also financially for the small shopkeepers, farmers and artisans, who are often ruined and thrown upon the labor market by the profit system? No capitalist will object. These providing and saving theories have been extolled to the workers as a blessing since capitalism exists.

Economists who have upheld and defended this system have always told the workers to save their pennies, in order to provide for rainy days, unemployment, etc., and they have also incessantly shouted into the ears of the workingman that it is his own fault and not the fault of the profit system when his life is miserable and his existence, meagre as it is, problematic, and insecure from day to day.

The workers would become still more abject slaves and petty proletarian philistines, if they fell for such futile and reactionary schemes as "Analyticus" advocates. It certainly cannot be the aim of the intelligent workers to uphold the profit and wage system by saving and by paying in cash for its damages and ravages.

The price of the booklet is 50 cents and can be ordered from the *Sociology Club*, Scotia, Schenectady, N. Y.

M. B.

* * *

In supplying the men for the carnage of a battlefield, women have not merely lost actually more blood and gone through a more acute anguish and weariness, in the months of bearing and in the final agony of child-birth,

than has been experienced by the men who cover it; but in the months of rearing that follow, the women of the race go through a long, patiently endured strain which no knapsacked soldier on his longest march has ever more than equalled; while, even in the matter of death, in all civilized societies, the probability that the average woman will die in child-birth is immeasurably greater than the probability that the average male will die in battle.

There is, perhaps, no woman, whether she have borne children or be merely potentially a child-bearer, who could look down upon a battlefield covered with slain, but the thought would rise in her: "So many mothers' sons! So many young bodies brought into the world to lie there! So many months of weariness and pain while bones and muscles were shaped within! So many hours of anguish and struggle that breath might be! So many baby mouths drawing life at mother's breasts!

No woman who is a woman says of a human body, "It is nothing!"—*Olive Schreiner.*

## COLLECTIONS FOR SAN FRANCISCO DEFENSE.

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| Hartford, Conn | $7.00 |
| Eleventh of November Meeting, Chicago | 50.00 |
| Part of Collection Jewish Meeting, E. G. | 11.00 |
| Collection English Meeting, E. G., Chicago | 25.25 |
| J. Klein, Bronx, N. Y. | 3.70 |
| List 509, Anisman of Pittsburgh, Pa. | 10.75 |
| Casper Richman, Saint Cloud, Minn. | 7.50 |
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